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istrators of royal properties are listed (27:25-31). Outside Israel and Judah, governors would rule in subject territories when local chiefs and kings were not retained as vassals. The use of garrisons in such territories (as in Aram-Damascus, 2 Sam. 8:6) would most likely be restricted to small groups of seasoned militia at key points, very much as Egypt had done in days past in the Levant, with messengers ready to take any news of revolt swiftly back to home base.[51] To contrast David and Solomon's mini-empire with later maxi-empires, see the map in fig. 14.

(3) Other Aspects of Life

Besides success in war, there is a persistent stream of tradition that links David with instrumental music (cf. 1 Sam. 16:15-23; 19:9) and with poems (e.g., a lament, 2 Sam. 1:17-27; 23:1-7) and hymns ("psalms"; 2 Sam. 22 = Ps. 18; Psalms, passim). It should occasion no surprise that either shepherd lads or kings should be involved with both in the biblical world. Alongside the fact of a vast treasury of scribally transmitted hymns and poetry, and data on musicianship in that ancient world, one may draw attention to three aspects related to David's case: popular poetry and hymns, royal participation in these arts, and the conventions of such poetics. In all three aspects David's case fits in naturally with what we learn from elsewhere.

First, poetry and song had always been part of the life of the common people, not just of ruling elites in antiquity.[52] Here the most accessible source is Egypt. Almost two thousand years before the shepherd boy David, herdsmen are shown singing melancholy ditties in the Pyramid Age already, as are the more cheerful bearers of the carrying chairs of the great (third millennium).[53] Already in the Middle Kingdom (early second millennium), a thousand years before David played for Saul, people were commonly entertained by harpists playing and singing their songs. Still later, in the New Kingdom, besides more harpists (later second millennium), plowmen, reapers, and threshers sing their rural snatches. And short rhapsodies of joy come forth at festival banquets and even picnics in the garden. Besides these we have a wealth of love lyrics, celebrating the joys and frustrations of boy-meets-girl. And finally, in the thirteenth-twelfth centuries, down to little more than a century before David's time, we have a remarkable series of prayers and hymns to their gods by the workmen of the royal tombs, preserved on their modest monuments in Western Thebes: confessions of sin, words of contrition, pleas for divine mercy, and thanksgiving for healing and deliverances.[54] Here we come relatively close to the spirit of biblical psalmody, as has long been recognized. A David (even as a shepherd or a youthful harpist) stood in a long, fruitful tradition of poetry,

popular as well as "official," expressive of relations with deity as well as with one's fellows.

Second, kings participated in such arts. Already in the Egypt of close on 2000 B.C., the venerable Theban king Intef II waxes lyrical in his very personal praise of the goddess Hathor, in his exuberant hymn, engraved on one of the stelae at his tomb.[55] Over in Mesopotamia three hundred years earlier, the great Sargon of Akkad's daughter, Princess En-khedu-anna, had composed two hymns to the goddess Inanna and the second edition of the Sumerian Temple Hymns (forty-two hymns in all) — making her the first authoress in history.[56] Almost a thousand years after her, back in Egypt (and three centuries before King David), we find the sun-worshiping "monotheistic" pharaoh Akhenaten praising the sun god as the visible Disc *(Aten)* with an atmospheric royal fervor, touching on humanity and other creatures in a fashion common both to Ps. 104 and to other hymnody from both Egypt (for Amen-Re) and Assyria (for the moon and sun gods).[57] Thus David would be no oddity in being a royal author of religious poetry, after his shepherd days were long past.

Third, we examine how the usages of biblical psalmody (Davidic or otherwise) fit into the Near Eastern cultural context.[58] The forms and conventions of biblical poetry, so familiar in the Psalms, go back in origin two thousand years before David's time. Exactly as in Sumerian, Akkadian, Egyptian, and other West Semitic literature (e.g., Ugaritic), so in biblical Hebrew poetry the basic building block is the two-line couplet (or "bicolon"), foundation stone of poetic "parallelism." A pair of thought units or "lines" can be used to state a concept twice, using different expressions (synonymous); or to develop the thought in the second line (synthetic); or to express a contrast in the two successive lines (antithetic). One may enrich the style by having three lines in parallel ("tricolon"), four lines in parallel in varying combinations ("quatrain"), or even larger units. So one may exemplify (using couplets):

Synonymous:	Adore Amun, and he will guard you,
(identical concepts)	exalt Amen-Re, and he will keep you safe.
Synthetic:	Pharaoh has slain his foes,
(thought extended)	the Falcon has destroyed their cities and crops.
Antithetic:	Now, pat a dog and it will love you,
(contrast)	but hit the canine and it will bite you.

With three- and four-line and larger units, more variations are open to poets, and other devices can be used: ellipse of part of a second (or other) line(s) to reduce repetition and tighten style; or "chiasmus," where key elements

occur in reverse order in the two successive lines, e.g., of a couplet. Thus the couplet:

> For I give praise to Hathor,
> I give glory to my Golden One,

written as an ellipse:

> I give praise to Hathor,
> glory to my Golden One,

and as a chiasmus (A . . . B, then B . . . A):

> Hathor welcomes me *at her shrine,*
> *from her sanctum,* I hear a word from the Golden One.

Many other devices were also in full use from the third millennium down to Roman times, but with different periods of use or popularity, in different classes of literature. All these "flowers of style" had been in full use for nearly two millennia prior to David, were in full use in his day, and many of them for long afterward, appearing in a wide range of biblical poetry, not just his. So, in terms of custom and technique, there is no reason to date biblical poetry any later than the claims made for various examples of it in the Hebrew text. The contexts of poetry by David (Ps. 18 in 2 Sam. 22), Hezekiah (Isa. 38:9-20), and Habakkuk (chap. 3; cf. 3:1) make it clear that authorship is there intended. Likewise in Pss. 3, 7, 34, 51, 52, 56, 57, 59, 60, 63, 142, which equally (like Ps. 18 = 2 Sam. 22) are linked with events in David's life and career. An authorship by David may also be true of other psalms simply headed *l — Dwd,* "for" or "belonging to David." Otherwise, this kind of heading would denote belonging to a Davidic collection, just as (in Ugaritic) *l — 'qht* means on certain tablets "belonging to (the series on) 'Aqhat," or about him, or dedicated to him. Many psalm headings have notations now difficult to understand — possible references to musical tunes, types of songs or prayers, also to other personnel, such as "the director of music." These notes illustrate the use of such psalms in the worship of YHWH in his tent and then temple in Jerusalem — as seen in 1 Chron. 16, where excerpts from other, non-Davidic psalms (105, 96, 106) were used at the ark's induction into David's tent shrine in Jerusalem. It should be noted that these psalm headings are obscure simply because they are *ancient* — being no longer fully understood when the Psalms were translated into Greek (for the Septuagint Old Testament) in the third or second century B.C. Full liturgical usages of Solomon's temple fell out of use for over half a century while it lay in ru-

ins (586-538 and following); not all of that ceremonial would be restored at the opening of the Second Temple in 515; it would probably be in a simpler form. So ancient headings passed out of active use, and thus out of currency.

The use of titles, colophons, and terminology for various kinds of hymns and psalms is widely attested in the biblical world, from many centuries before David's time, and remained habitual down to his time and long afterward. So biblical titles and terms are a normal phenomenon. From the early second millennium in Mesopotamia, we have Sumerian hymns of various kinds labeled as *ershemma, balbale, shagidda,* etc., and used in the cults of the gods. They could be sung on different occasions, not just in one setting; cult hymns could pass into personal use, and personal psalms could pass into the service of the cult. Hence it can be no surprise to see biblical psalms in both contexts (personal and cultic). The content of a piece may not have any reference to its place in the cult. Musical terms are quoted with hymns from the early second millennium onward (*balag,* "song with a harp"; *ershemma,* "lament with a *shem*-drum"; etc.).[59] Also, many Egyptian compositions bear titles, those attributed to personal piety in particular (thirteenth-twelfth centuries).[60] The use of music can be specified, as in Mesopotamian and Hittite contexts (instruments and song specified to be performed either separately or in unison).[61] At Egyptian festivals in the New Kingdom (esp. 1300-1150), dancers and musicians are shown in temple scenes and their hymnody is quoted in the scenes.[62] All this gives us the conceptual setting of what we find in descriptions of Hebrew usage as preserved (e.g.) in 1 Chron. 15–16, 25 when the ark was installed in Jerusalem and musical provision was planned for the temple. There is nothing artificial here, it is precisely what one would expect.

D. IMPLICIT BACKGROUND: SOLOMON

Here we will consider appropriate background in the same sequence of themes outlined from the biblical data, above, before looking at the possible contributions from the physical archaeology of Palestine for this overall period and coming to a concluding review of the whole.

(i) Foreign Relations: Egypt

We return to a pharaoh who conquered Gezer (1 Kings 9:16), and then gave it as a dowry with his daughter in a marriage alliance with Solomon (3:1; 9:16, 24; cf. 7:8; 11:1). The possible identity of such a king plus the significance of his action

49. For royal "named" cities (as of David), compare Amenemhat-Ithet-Tawy ("Amenemhat I grasps Egypt") and later Pi-Ramesse ("Domain of Ramesses II") in Twelfth and Nineteenth Dynasty Egypt respectively (twentieth and thirteenth centuries); Azitawataya, "(Town of) Azitiwata" (ruler of Que/Danuna in southeast Asia Minor, eighth century); Dur-Sharrukin, "Sargonburg" (now Khorsabad) of Sargon II (fl. 720) in Assyria, and others.

50. The three-element nature of the united monarchy's regime was originally noted by A. Malamat, *JNES* 22 (1963): 6-8, and B. Mazar, *BA* 25 (1962): 102-3; cf. the graphic presentation by Y. Aharoni, *The Land of the Bible,* 2nd ed. (London: Burns & Oates, 1979), 295, map 21, with 296-97.

51. For the size of Egyptian garrisons (outside of Gaza, Kumidi, and Simyra), note the small contingents sought by local kinglets in the Amarna letters; cf. Moran, *The Amarna Letters.*

52. A modest sampling of the hymns and prayers of the cultures of the ancient Near East can be found in *ANET,* 365-400, 467-69 (Egyptian, Sumerian and Akkadian, and Hittite), and even fewer in *CoS* I, 37-48 (Egypt), 416-18, 470-75 (Akkadian), and 526-30 (Sumerian).

53. For third-millennium popular pieces in Egypt, see *ANET,* 469, and more fully, K. A. Kitchen, *Poetry of Ancient Egypt* (Jonsered: P. Aströms förlag, 1999), 75-78.

54. For Egyptian popular poems, harpists' songs, lyric/love poetry (full corpus), and workmen's hymns of confession, prayer, and praise in the second millennium, see selections in Kitchen, *Poetry of Ancient Egypt,* 133-42 (Middle Kingdom), 315-430 (New Kingdom), with further references.

55. On King Intef II, see Kitchen, *Poetry of Ancient Egypt,* 109-12.

56. On En-khedu-anna, see W. W. Hallo and J. J. A. van Dijk, *The Exaltation of Inanna* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1968); for the Sumerian Temple Hymns, see A. W. Sjöberg and E. Bergmann, *The Collection of the Sumerian Temple Hymns,* Texts from Cuneiform Sources III (New York: Augustin, 1969), and p. 5 on the princess's role.

57. For Akhenaten's Hymn to Aten there are many translations; cf. *ANET,* 369-71; *CoS* I, 44-46; Kitchen, *Poetry of Ancient Egypt,* 249-60. On Egyptian hymn to Amen-Re, caring for humanity and the fauna, cf. *ANET,* 365-67. Akkadian moon and sun hymns with concern for humanity and other created beings, see *ANET,* 385-86, 387-88.

58. The range and techniques of ancient Near Eastern poetry is set out in simple form (for Egypt) in my *Poetry of Ancient Egypt,* xiii-xx, 471-81. Hebrew poetry and poetics are comprehensively set out by W. G. E. Watson, *Classical Hebrew Poetry,* 2nd and corrected ed. (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1995). For Sumerian, and its shared features with Hebrew, see A. Berlin, *JANES* 10 (1978/79): 35-42. For Ugaritic, in outline, see C. H. Gordon, *Ugaritic Textbook* I (Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1965), 131-44; its formal correspondences with Hebrew usage, cf. L. R. Fisher, ed., *Ras Shamra Parallels* I (1972), II (1975), and S. Rummel, ed., *Ras Shamra Parallels* III (1981), all published in Rome by the Pontifical Biblical Institute; and review of I-II by J. C. de Moor and P. van der Hugt, *BiOr* 31 (1974): 3-26. For Akkadian (Assyro-Babylonian), cf. summary treatment in English, B. R. Foster, *Before the Muses: An Anthology of Akkadian Literature* I (Bethesda, Md.: CDL Press, 1993), 14-19, also summarized in his updated but abridged version, *From Distant Days* (1995), 4-7. A detailed study is given by K. Hecker, *Untersuchungen zur akkadischen Epik* (Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1974).

59. Sumerian terminology (*ershemma, balbale,* etc.) can be seen in use in translations by S. N. Kramer in *ANET,* 3rd ed., 576-79, 582-84 (= Supp., 140-43, 146-48). The variety of settings in which Sumerian hymns could be used (with different combinations of *balags* and *ershemmas*), and varying use as personal and cultic psalms, is all noted by J. Krecher, *Sumerische Kultlyrik* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1966), 27 top (different occasions), 23 nn. 26-27 (different

combinations of *balag, ershemma*), 33 (both cult and personal use), 26-27 (content not needfully related to cult use).

60. Examples of Egyptian personal hymns of piety, with titles, opening with titular couplet, "Giving praise (to deity), paying homage (to deity)," often by speaker, in Kitchen, *Poetry of Ancient Egypt*, 271-313, passim.

61. For specified uses of music (Mesopotamian and Hittite), see the series of quotes in I. J. Gelb and others, eds., *CAD* 21/Z (1961), 36-38, with a good summary, p. 38.

62. On music in the Near East in all contexts, see entries (in English, French, and German) in *RLA* VIII, pts. 5/6, 7/8 (1995/97), 463-91. In Egyptian festival scenes, see in L. Grollenberg, *Atlas of the Bible* (London: Nelson, 1956), 72, no. 204 (dancers, clapping, harpist, sistrum players, ca. 1480). Generally, cf. entry in W. Helck, E. Otto, and W. Westendorf, eds., *LdA* IV/2 (1980), 230-43, in German with references in English, French, and German.

63. The basic study of this period remains Kitchen, *Third Int. Pd*, in particular the 1996 edition with important supplements. For the most recent, up-to-date treatment of Egyptian dates during 1070-664, see Kitchen, in *Acta Archaeologica* 67 (1996 [1998]): 1-13, esp. 1-3 with tables 1-2 (also issued as same pages in K. Randsborg, ed., *Absolute Chronology, Archaeological Europe, 2500-500* BC [Copenhagen: Munksgaard, 1996 (1998)]). An update of this paper appeared in M. Bietak, ed., *The Synchronization of Civilizations in the Eastern Mediterranean during the Second Millennium* BC *(Symposion Langenlois Nov. 15-17, 1996)* (Vienna: Austrian Academy, 2000), 29-52. There is absolutely no scope whatsoever for the impossible "margin" of fifty years' variation claimed by P. Ash, *David, Solomon, and Egypt: A Reassessment* (Sheffield: Academic Press, 1999), 26, 34; cf. my review in *Themelios* 26, no. 3 (summer 2001): 38-50.

64. The major blunder in calling Siamun "an unidentified king" on his Tanis relief-scene was made by J. M. Weinstein, in S. Gitin, A. Mazar, and E. Stern, eds., *Mediterranean Peoples in Transition . . . in Honor of Professor Trude Dothan* (Jerusalem: IES, 1998), 192-93; it is said (orally) that he has realized his error and withdrawn it. But this should be done prominently in print, or ignoramuses will misquote him for years to come. His basic attitude to the Siamun piece is unrealistically negative (193 n. 10); there is not a single scrap of evidence for claiming that the ax head shown is "anachronistic."

65. The Siamun relief, original publication (photograph), is in P. Montet, *Les constructions et le tombeau d'Osorkon II* (Paris: [Fouilles de Tanis, Mission Montet], 1947), pl. IX.

66. The coincidence of monumental triumph scenes with kings who actually warred is noted by A. R. Green, *JBL* 97 (1978): 366. For Ramesses VI, cf. A. M. A. Amer, *JEA* 71 (1985): 67-68.

67. The account of triumph scenes by Ash, *David, Solomon, and Egypt*, is full of errors about triumph scenes. (1) He fails to distinguish between formal temple reliefs and minor decorative examples, which refutes his use of the irrelevant Herihor and allied examples (pp. 43-44). (2) He and others misinterpret the ax in the Siamun scene, not realizing how and why it is held as it is (40). (3) Philistines hold no axes in reliefs of series of prisoners (39f.), as the crescentic ax may be a ceremonial weapon — no other triumph scene with Philistines is available to compare with Siamun's. (4) Siamun's relief, properly understood, does *not* "violate . . . the genre" of triumph scenes (43); foes of Tuthmosis III hold axes in a triumph scene of his at Karnak! (5) The daggers held by the blade by foes in Shoshenq's scene are wrongly described as "thin vials" by Ash (41), a massive howler! Foes *did* hold weapons in such reliefs. (6) The "double bow" plus feather was totally misunderstood by him and Montet (41, 42); these two signs are heraldic hieroglyphs that read *Pedjtyu-Shutu*, "foreigners"! (7) An enormous blunder by Ash (45) is to identify the ax as either a halter (his example is a flower bud!) or, worse, handcuffs! He has clearly never seen the handcuffs that Egyptians used for foreign prisoners: these are simply ovals